594 the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right to individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

578 While modern education gave youth increased stature in the eyes of the family elders, it also served to decrease youth's respect for parents. Olga Lang's 1936 survey of youthful attitudes toward parents disclosed that while only 20 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls in high school were willing to answer the question as to whether they ever disapproved of their parents' behavior, 58 per cent of the men and 62 per cent of the women in college were willing to answer, and their answers were overwhelmingly critical. The greatest objects of censure were the father, his political views, and his personal habits. He was criticized as "conservative," "feudal," acting

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"aginst the trend of the time"; as "immoral," "corrupt," "lazy," "egotistic," "too cautious" and for gambling, smoking opium, and frequenting brothels. Mothers were more gently and less often criticized, but were reproached for "political backwardness," "unhygienic habits," "gossiping, playing mah-jong, quarrelling [and] ill treatment of young daughters-in-law." College students also reported more actual disagreements with parents than did high school students. The most frequent subjects of disagreement were marriage, politics, education, participation in the students' movement, recreation, modern hygiene, and fashions, friends, and future professions.[6]

E. Effect on Family Economic Role

The decreasing ability of the family to function as a production and consumption unit or as an employment agency in an industrial society has already been pointed out. The initial break with the old form of employment was forced by foreign firms or government services headed by foreigners. Their prohibition against officers hiring or recommending relatives was only beginning to be copied by wholly Chinese institutions such as banks, factories, and schools in the years before World War II. Where the employment of relatives was forbidden, friendship, a common birthplace, training in the same school, or membership in the same secret society often provided the basis for a personal link between an employer and a prospective

6. Lang, op. cit., pp. 284-87. [p.176]

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2f,
Political Background

SUBVERSIVE POTENTIALITIES

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578 In view of the present importance of the East China Region to the nation's economy and to the Communist military preparation for offensive action against the Nationalists on Formosa, the Communists have assiduously pursued in this region a series of measures aimed at the suppression of opposition to their regime. Open and "subversive" opposition has its origin in at least three sources: (1) "Counter-revolutionaries" -- armed bandits, landlords, former Nationalist officials, members of the Nationalist armed forces, Kuomintang and foreign agents, and the secret societies -- are regarded by the Communists as "basically hostile elements." (2) Harmful activities which the Communists consider dangerous to the stability of their regime are specified for elimination. This includes corruption, waste, and theft in Party and government organizations, in industrial establishments, and in rural co-operatives. (3) Tension and public discontent among Party members and government employees and among the populace are common in an excessively controlled and centralized state. These conditions, if not checked, may contribute to the demoralization and the eventual disruption of the Communist regime.

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687 stealing from the government and were severely punished. Large-scale theft was on the increase after the expansion of industrialization and the conversion of private-owned enterprises in 1953. Crime syndicates were discovered in major Chinese cities. One of these syndicates,[57] composed of more than 200 men, stole 120 tons of ship-building materials another syndicate, with 290 members, stole 4,000 airplane parts. The most serious activity of these syndicates is their collaboration with "underground factories" reportedly existing in Shanghai. Electrical supplies worth 80,000 yuan (new currency) have been stolen to supply these "underground factories," which sell their products on the black market.

III. TENSION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT

•578 668 656 The tight control and centralization of government economic and social activities lead to tension and public discontent. Discontent results from government restrictions, high taxation, and public obligations. The controls exercised by the Communists over all the Party, state, and mass organizations generate tension within these groups. Despite Communist attempts to seek popular support and to implant belief in a brighter future,

57. Ibid., May 18, 1955, p. 1.

578 discontent and tension have not been eradicated.
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656 A. Public Discontent

1. Regimentation and Restriction.

517 The Communist attempt to organize the people
656 and regiment their activities meets the
668 greatest resistance. The forced establishment of agricultural producers' co-operatives in the rural districts and the organization of all urban workers into unions are Communist efforts of note.

The imposition upon the peasants of spare-time activities and duties is perhaps the most objectionable feature. The peasant is required to attend meetings, to attend winter schools, to be advised on all farm activities, and to perform various duties according to his age and sex. Even how he is to spend his money is decided by Party counseling. Such advice is, in fact, a series of propaganda bombardments, which may include interviews, meetings, and classes. This process is both time-consuming and vastly irritating.

Similar restrictions are imposed upon the workers in the city. During working hours, workers are required to observe labor discipline. They are severly punished if they are late to work or leave early. Loafing and belligerence are crimes subject to punishment. During their "leisure time,"

key centers in the village area, guard and help to ship government grain, assist in the extermination of "bandits," and attend militia "cultural" and organizational activities. A parallel scheme is instituted in the city. Urban residents are generally expected to render certain services in the areas where they live. In addition to attending regular meetings, they are expected to serve as patrols whenever patrols become necessary.

Controls imposed by security agencies and other organizations, including large-scale rationing programs and constant investigations, contribute to public discontent. However, the Communists recognize the limits of public inconvenience and growing dissatisfaction. They stress the employment of a mass-line policy, which, to some extent, will absorb mass complaints, and they mobilize their propaganda machine for better effect.

B. Tension within Organizations

Although the various control agencies employed by the Party to supervise and to ensure the execution of Party directives within a government organization help to maintain Party supremacy, their functions and responsibilities often overlap, resulting in confusion

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668 and tension among the employees.[58]
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Because these control agencies have the same jurisdiction in all organizations, any one department or factory may have four different controls at the same time -- the control committee of the Party, the supervisory offices of the administration, the people's procuratorates, and the public security agencies. Under this multi-control system, each agency of control exerts pressure upon all members of the organization and extends to every part of the organization.

Over-centralization results in tension. In the sphere of politics, for example, transmission of directives from the central government, allocation of work, and the choice of objectives are made at the provincial level. When making government allocations, each level of government has an assigned target in mind; hence, the demand on the subordinate units increases. The result is an accumulation of pressure which creates tension within the system. This is particularly true in the sphere of economic activity. For example, each factory is given a production quota,

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58. Studies on the Soviet Union can be helpful in an understanding of the subject. Merle Fainsod, How Russia is Ruled, Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1953; Barrington Moore, Jr., Terror and Progress USSR, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954.

668 assigned as if it were a political decision.
578 Managers and workers in a factory are concerned with the attainment of the assigned quota, since a failure to meet the quota may bring severe punishment. To fulfill this quota, every means of control and competitive methods are used. This in turn creates additional tension among the workers. Although some factories have issued false achivement reports in order to reduce government demands for ever-increasing production schedules, the regime is making an effort to stamp out this practice.

665 Pressure and tension are most harmful
578 to the morale of the Party. The Party apparatus is the center of power and activity, and all Party directives and government policies are supervised by the Party. Therefore, a Party member is subject to at least two systems of pressure -- the Party and the state. A Party member is subject to an endless program of Party indoctrination and rectification, which results in the high loss of Party members either through expulsion or forced resignation. Indeed, the demands on a Party member are so great that many Chinese are reluctant to join the Party. The fate of the expelled Party members is unknown, but it is presumed that they are generally tried by a People's Court and sentenced to forced labor. Expelled Party members, if still at large, may form a counterrevolutionary group and join with other elements in subversive activities.

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668 578 Tension also exists in the mass organizations as the result of pressure imposed upon them by the Party and by higher organizations themselves. The most active mass organizations, such as the New Democratic Youth Corps and the Federation of Democratic Women, are also the most unstable. The key to the maintenance of a safe margin of tension within an organization seems to lie in a balanced approach to the problem, reinforced by constant vigilance and propaganda.

IV. CONCLUSION

578 656 668 No matter how tight a rein the Communists in the East China Region hold upon the populace, there are always three forces in opposition to the Communist rule of terror: the victims of Communism, the traditional resistance groups, and discontented members of the Communist Party.

Among the victims of Communist power are the landlords, former Kuomintang officials, and those who are named by the Communists as counterrevolutionaries. Although most of these elements are confined to forced labor camps or are placed under the surveillance of the police, they continue to offer some resistance. With the increase in peasant opposition to the Communist policies of gradual collectivism in the rural districts, the "new-rich" peasants may appear in renewed strength. However, in view of the Communist policy of

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terrorism and violence, a show of open resistance is infrequent.

The traditional resistance group, represented by the rebirth of secret societies, is another force which will not be easy to crush. Because secret societies are attractive to illiterate peasants and laborers, they may create added discontent. The last group of potential subversives is composed of discontented and/or expelled Party members. Party purges in the East China Region were particularly severe during 1955.

Public discontent and tension within all organizations in East China are by no means an indication of the impending collapse of the Communist regime. They are, rather, the counteraction to be expected under a dictatorship in a controlled society. However, evidences of tension and public discontent should be investigated because they may lead to the weakening of Communist power. The loss of morale and Party unity can mean the disruption of the entire system.